

BRAVO!

The Austrian Proletariat Uses
the Ballot to a Purpose.

FIRST BLOOD.

A Gigantic Vote Polled by the Socialist Labor Party—Altho' By the Electoral Law, the Workers Could not Hope to Gain Control of the Parliament, the Dearest Interest Centered on the Vote for the Fifth Curia—Fully 15 Socialist Elected—At Least 300,000 Votes Polled For Freedom.

At the hour of writing this article sufficient and tangible facts are in upon the elections for the Austrian Parliament to enable us to take up the matter intelligently, and convey to the class-conscious proletariat of America the glad tidings of the intelligent uprising of their fellow wage-slaves in the Austrian Empire.

Hitherto the working-class was disfranchised in Austria. Parliament consisted of 353 members and these were ranked into four categories, each of which is called a "Curia."

The first Curia consisted of delegates chosen by the large landed proprietors; they returned 85 members.

The second Curia consisted of delegates chosen by mercantile bodies; they returned 21 members.

The third Curia consisted of delegates chosen by cities, i. e., chartered municipal corporations; they returned 117 members.

Finally, the fourth Curia consisted of delegates chosen in certain places by indirect election. This Curia is an Austrian anomaly, the result of ancient institutions of the Empire. The citizens entitled to vote for delegates of this curia returned 130 seats.

The property qualifications upon which the suffrage is based for these 4 Curias shut out the poor, with few exceptions not worth mentioning in the fourth Curia. The Socialist and New Trade Unionist movement in Austria set in motion a lively agitation for electoral reforms. It demanded that the suffrage laws be enlarged so as to afford the working class seat and voice in the national Parliament, where until then only the ruling and idle class was represented. The agitation was finally crowned with partial success. The ruling class refused to open the whole Parliament to the working class; it refused to abolish the property qualifications already in existence for the 4 Curias that then constituted Parliament; but it established a fifth Parliamentary Curia to consist of 72 delegates which can be voted for by all male citizens of 24 years and over, and who have resided at least 6 months in their respective election district. It is under this law that the present elections have been held.

The following are the practical bearings of the law:

1. The voting population of Austria was under the old system, 1,730,000; under the new it is 5,350,000.

2. The voters, entitled to elect delegates to the old 4 Curias, have two votes; each set can vote in their own, and can also vote for delegates to the new 5th Curia.

3. The working class can vote only for delegates to the 5th Curia.

4. The Parliament, which formerly consisted of 353 members, now consists of 425.

5. The former 353 can not be voted for by the workers; workers can vote only for the 72 new ones.

6. Even if the whole working class stood solidly together and carried each of the 72 new seats, polling an absolute majority of all the votes cast for the 5th Curia, they could not gain control of Parliament.

One sided and wrong-headed though this law is, it was justly hailed by the class-conscious working men of Austria as a gain. It was an entering wedge. Through it the working class could push its way into Parliament. And nobly did it avail itself of this, the first opportunity it has ever enjoyed to try political conclusions with its oppressors at the hustings. Despite intimidation, despite force and even murder, such as was practiced upon one Socialist farmer, the election returns have sent consternation into the classes that make up the old 4 Curias.

So far 15 candidates of the Socialist Labor party are known to be elected; to

these the Bohemian working men alone contribute 7 out of the 18 that fall to Bohemia. The following are the 7 certain victors in Bohemia:

Edward Zeller, weaver and secretary of the Workmen's Sick Benefit Association.

Anton Schrammel, wood turner.

Joseph Hannich, weaver.

Leo Verkauf, lawyer.

Wilhelm Kieseletter, weaver.

Joseph Steiner, glass worker.

Karl Bratny, carpenter.

The other 8 known victors are:

In Moravia:

Joseph Hybes, weaver.

Edward Reyer, weaver.

Ernst Berner, journalist.

Peter Linke, miner.

In Galicia:

Jan. Kozakiewicz, painter.

Ignaz Daszyn, editor.

Franz Zeplichel, metalworker.

In Styria:

G. Resel, tailor.

But it is not so much the number of successful candidates that deserves of joy and that is just now causing the air to be rent in Austria with the cheers of the proletariat. The object of greatest rejoicing is the phenomenal vote cast against the rule of exploitation and for the Social Revolution. Upon this head only an estimate can so far be made.

The working men's vote must have been 300,000 if not more—300,000 votes first lick under the most adverse conditions and beating their way against brutal capitalist intimidation?

It is no wonder that the tone of the Austrian press sounds like a funeral march.

On Nationalization and Nationalization—No "Glasgow Plan."

WORCESTER, Mass.—Since the big vote polled here at the last municipal elections last November, some politicians have been scheming to capture the Socialist movement by means of seeming concessions. Their pet plan is to reduce fares and municipalize street railways.

Such is the occasion that Comrade Addison William Barr, who ran for alderman as the candidate of the Socialist Labor party at the city election last November, and surprised every one by the big vote which he polled, has utilized to straighten the idea of Socialism in the public mind, by some public declarations.

Alderman Lytle, at the meeting of the city council Monday night, sought to start a movement for municipal ownership of street railways. Comrade Barr opposes this, even if it should eventually lead to three-cent fares on the various street railway lines within the city limits. He showed how it would not prove of any great benefit to the workingmen and women of Worcester. He shows that it would amount to little more than lifting them out of the frying pan and dropping them into the fire. As he puts it, "It doesn't make much difference to the workingman whether he pays the difference between three cents and five cents into the coffers of C. B. Pratt and his associates in the consolidated street railway, or hands it over to R. C. Taylor, or some other wealthy real estate owner or to the boss in shop. He is just as well off one way as he is the other."

Comrade Barr then proceeds with this argument: "In my opinion the Socialist propaganda which was carried on in Worcester last summer forced the Democratic party in Worcester to assume the attitude it did in its municipal convention. When a movement of this kind first comes up it usually meets with contempt, as the first form of opposition. After that comes the genuine opposition from the machine politicians and the parties they represent. This opposition only comes when the politicians realize that a movement is a genuine factor that has got to be taken into account. When they find that the usual forms of opposition are likely to fail, then they seek their last resort in misdirection. It is to that end that the parties now in office in this city are taking steps toward offering to the people what appears to them to be the things we have advocated so successfully. In reality they offer only a mask, which is designed to cover and disguise their real position. The matter of the reduction of fares, or even of the municipal control of the service in question, without democratic management by citizenship, would only result in a change of benefits from one set of capitalists to another. If you reduce the fares you make the real estate correspondingly more valuable, and the increased rentals leave the workingman just where he was before; and if the landlord-capitalist don't take the capitalist-landlord would by lowering his wages in proportion. If that is what the people of Worcester want, why let them have it by all means, but don't confuse it with Socialism. Our proposition is to municipalize not only traction roads, gas and electric light plants, and other similar branches of service, but all the means of production and distribution and transportation. The success of the municipalization of one branch of service, like the traction roads, depends upon municipal ownership and democratic control of other factors of existence. When the wants of men and women are supplied at the cost of production, transportation and distribution, and when everyone is provided with a necessary habitation, then, and not till then, will Socialism become a practical fact.

"This may sound visionary to persons who have never given the matter any study or thought, but the time is coming when the doctrines of Socialism are going to be understood and adopted. One great trouble which Socialists have long had to contend with is the misrepresentation on the part of the press. We do not complain of this, because it would be a strange and unnatural condition of affairs if it were not so. The men who make newspapers make them

(Continued on Page 4)

PROSPERITY GALORE.

It Breaks Out Among the Silkworkers of Long Island City.

The Advance-Agent-of-Prosperity's Advance into the House is Celebrated by Long Island Capitalists by Teaching their Employees, Who Marched in the McKinley Parade, What their Marching was for—When the Worker Votes for Capital he votes for Lower Wages.

LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y., March 11.—I am glad to be able to communicate to the readers of THE PEOPLE that the presence of the "advance agent of prosperity" is already making itself felt in Long Island City. The only explanation that I can give to account for the early attention that the unadvanced agent of prosperity is radically bestowing upon this happy city is that its Mayor is fortunately one of the staunchest gold men of the neighborhood, and, consequently, there is no limit to the distance he would go to save the honor of the country and the value of his dollars and property.

The agent of prosperity having duly been advanced to the White House, and looking around for a suitable place where he should first favor the citizens and show them his gratitude for saving him from debt, and the country from dishonor, happened to select Long Island City among the very first ones. And lo! there is a cut down of wages in the silk factories, and, consequently, a strike. What a terrible surprise to the poor working slaves, who never knew, and who did not know it at the last election either.

To illustrate their disillusion and surprise, I will ask whether any of the readers of this paper ever walked in the country on a moonlit night after a heavy rainfall? You walk straight along and it is rather muddy. Suddenly you notice right in front of you a smooth and shining space. There you think, there is at least a nice and dry piece of ground. Not suspecting anything, you walk right on, when suddenly you find yourself in a pool of water, ankle deep. Of course you back out, and say to yourself that you can't be fooled again; that you will be careful where you walk now. Not so with the unprogressive workingmen. They have been deluded into pools of dirty water many a time; come out of them always the worse for it; but still they refuse to take the lesson with an obstinacy and queerness that would do credit to any lunatic.

When they were marching before the last election in the pretty ranks composed of some more cattle and their drivers, I say when they were marching on that memorable day did they suspect a further cut in wages and deeper plunge into utter misery after all the marching, hurrying, playing, gold-bugging and saving of the country?

Did they know then that it is they that do all the marching and tramping before elections, and that it is the bosses that do all the tramping after elections? But whereas the workingmen trample only upon sidewalks, the bosses trample upon their necks and backs!

But they ought to have known all that.

Firstly—if they would make use of their brains and take lessons from previous experiences, they could never be ensnared by the lying tongues of all the capitalist parties, no matter what their name, and they ought to know that all the difference there is among the capitalist parties lies in their names.

Secondly—Don't we Socialists raise our voices throughout the country before, during and after elections, and all the time, warning the working slaves before the danger which lies in voting their masters, their oppressors, into political power. As if it was not enough that they supply them with money power, they also put political power into their hands?

Workingmen of Long Island City and all the cities and villages of the land, since you have given your masters the money power, and since you have no economic means to take it away from them, let them keep it; but since the political power by right of majority belongs to you, and since you have the ballot, which is the means to win back the economic power, assert your manhood and join and vote for the Socialist Labor party, which is the only party which uses all its brains, energies, its very life in order to free the workingmen of the world from the economic slavery to which they are now, with their families, subjected, and to lift them into a bright sphere of life, where misery, hunger, slavery, ignorance and enmity will be replaced by happiness, plenty, liberty, education and the feeling of brotherhood!

S. K.

Greater New York Convention.

Saturday evening, the 20th instant, the Convention of Greater New York meets at the New York Labor Lyceum. All delegates should attend.

HAMBURG STRIKE.

The Cogent Lessons that it Teaches The Workers.

A Comparison of the Conflict Between Labor and Capital as Conducted and Animated by the Spirit of New Trade Unionism and as Managed by "Pure and Simpledom" Demonstrates Beyond the peradventure of a Doubt that Fakirism is a Wrecker of Unionism.

Sufficient time has elapsed since the settlement of the Hamburg strike to enable us to draw conclusions as to the methods advocated by the wreckers of the American Labor movement, and the progressive New Trades Unionists, who hold that the ballot must be coupled by the working class to their economic movement so as to affect their emancipation.

It is true that the Dock Workers of Hamburg were compelled to succumb in their struggle against the immensely capitalized interests that they warred against; yet the shipowners have little occasion to rejoice over their victory. Reports from capitalist sources some few weeks ago stated that from the thousands of seabs who were drawn to Hamburg, only one hundred and forty remained, and they had to be cared for on board of a vessel; quarters could not be obtained for them on land. It is more than probable that, by this time, there are none of them left.

The "United Shipowners" had pledged their honor to the seabs that they would be protected and retained at work even after the strike was settled; probably they meant it. In fact they did impose that condition upon their returning workmen; but the power of concentrated capital stopped right there. Socialist Hamburg has simply spewed out the outcasts. This is the first fact of importance that we desire to call to the attention of American trades unionists.

It is true that a considerable part of the population of our cities sympathize with strikers, provided it is not inconvenient for too long a time; but what does that amount to compared with the effect of the class-consciousness of a large portion of the population, who realize that the strikers are fighting their battle, and that the cause of the strikers is their own? That was the conception of the 100,000 Socialist voters of Hamburg and vicinity. The capitalists might dictate to their workmen that they must work with the seabs; but the Socialist population decided differently, and decided finally.

As to the manner of managing and supporting a strike, the Hamburg strike leaders might give our pure and simple leaders some valuable lessons. Despite the fact that the class-conscious Socialist is pitted by Messrs. Strasser & Co. because of their "rainbow chasing" proclivities, and because we are so frightfully "impractical, mark you, only 25 per cent. of the Hamburg dock laborers were organized when the strike was ordered; not a man scabbed it at the beginning of the strike, and there were very few desertions from the ranks of the strikers during the entire time. So much for the solidarity of the class-conscious workmen of Hamburg.

Then again, many thousands of seabs were imported by the shipowners. Usually, workmen are provoked when they see their places being filled by strangers, and the slightest manifestation on their part is used as a pretext for calling out the military, with the result that the strike collapses disgracefully. Nothing of the sort happened in Hamburg. In spite of the great provocations on the part of the police, there was not a single disturbance of sufficient moment to furnish an excuse for flooding the city with the military; though, of course, this was clamorously demanded by the capitalist press. So much for the discipline of the Socialist workmen.

The strike in Hamburg lasted eleven weeks. It started in mid-winter, the worst time in the year for workmen to be unemployed. In no country, with the exception of Australia, where the conditions are abnormal, could a strike of unskilled laborers have been sustained for even half that time. In the United States, under the management of the "pure and simple," a strike of this character would collapse in a week or two. So much for the endurance of the Socialist workmen of Hamburg.

The inauguration of a large strike here is usually the signal for the passage by many organizations of sympathetic resolutions, and that is about all the assistance received; the material aid rendered is rather insignificant. The Socialists of Germany collected 1,500,000 marks in support of the strikers. Strasser & Co. might disdainfully reduce this sum to dollars and cents, and then point with pride to the "well filled" treasuries of their beneficial societies, that are rapidly losing all semblance of aggressive trade unionism.

The workmen of Germany cannot accumulate large funds in their craft organizations because of the constant danger of confiscation by the government, even at the time when they are mostly needed. Yet, despite this fact, the Socialist workmen of Germany contribute enormous sums, comparatively, for agitation, elections, the support of the great Socialist press, and assistance to their representatives in the Reichstag, and yet nobly render material aid and assistance to their comrades who are fighting on the economic field against the power of organized capitalism. So much for the readiness of Socialist workmen to make sacrifices for the common good.

The noble struggle of our Hamburg

Comrades gives the lie to the fakirs, and proves that the man who votes for the cause of the working class will contribute freely to the success of that cause in the economic as well as in the political field, and that the best fight on the economic field is made by them.

IN LIMBO.

Strasser's Candidate for President of a Philadelphia Union Caught Stealing the Union's Funds.

PHILADELPHIA, March 17.—Readers of THE PEOPLE will remember the campaign that we recently had here in the Cigarmakers' Union for President, when the progressive and honorable element nominated J. Mahlon Barnes, and Strasser, one of the international pensioners who lives upon our dues, came down, set up one Trimmer in opposition and caused a canvass to be carried on against Socialism in the most infamous way. Readers of THE PEOPLE will also remember how Strasser's candidate was snowed under, and Barnes elected by an overwhelming majority. Now this Trimmer is locked up for embezzling our funds.

At the annual meeting of the Joint Label and Grievance Committee of the Cigar Makers' Unions of Philadelphia, new rules for the coming year were adopted. The most important of these was one that places the label agitation into the hands of the Joint Label and Grievance Committee. This meant the abolition of a self-instituted Label Committee whose sole aims and objects was to further the interests of its precious members. This committee was formerly, of course, in the hands of the fakirs, with boss Fakir Trimmer as its secretary and treasurer. Upon the adoption of the new rule abolishing the Label Committee, Secretary-Treasurer Trimmer was requested to furnish the newly created Joint Label and Grievance Committee, at its next meeting with a financial report. Trimmer did not show up.

At the regular meeting of the Joint Committee, Trimmer being again summoned, came with his report. An examination of the report showed a balance of \$183 in favor of the old Label Committee, but not a penny of which Trimmer produced. As an excuse he said that a few days ago he was robbed, but strange to say, postage stamps lying together with the money had not been taken away but were left untouched by the "robbers." Trimmer promised to pay the amount the following Saturday, but on that day he came with only \$63.

A committee was then appointed by the Joint Committee to investigate the matter. After a thorough investigation the committee decided that Trimmer must pay the balance to the amount of \$103, and so told him. He declined. The committee reported this back to the Joint Committee, thereupon the investigation committee received full power to act, and at once, and did so by having Fakir Trimmer arrested.

The trial will come up next Friday. This shows where the \$28,000 for label agitation goes to, and points to the grand work of "pure and simpledom."

T.

Those who desire to acquire a broad knowledge of Socialism and who have either no time or no preparation to undertake a systematic study of the works of Carl Marx, will do well to read the serial of pamphlets that Comrade Henry B. Ashplant, of London, Ontario, has undertaken.

A "preliminary pamphlet" entitled "Heterodox Economics vs. Orthodox Profits" has already appeared. It is as full of instruction as an egg is of meat. It can be obtained through the Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, New York, or directly from the author. Price, 10 cents.

Our manufacturers of ignorance at Albany are just now posing as the patrons of education, and our prostituted press is encouraging the deception by flaming headlines one of which reads: "Ten Millions for Schools."

What has happened is this: A bill has been introduced at Albany authorizing the City of New York to issue bonds to the amount of \$10,000,000 for the erection of additional school buildings.

In other words, the Albany Legislature proposes to afford idle capital an investment, and in order to cover up its real object presents it under the guise of meaning to promote education.

A government of the people, and for the people, and by the people would go about it in a different way. The ten and more millions needed to keep up public education would be got by the simple method of taxation. The rich, whose wealth consists in the plunder they have perpetrated upon the working class would then have to plank down some of their stolen goods, and this restitution would be turned to public use.

But as the government is by, for and of the class of the plunderers, and as the plunderers have so concentrated production that they have more money than they can invest in production, these moneys are now to be given a chance.

The scheme of raising the needed moneys for schools by means of bonds is a scheme to promote the income of the idle class under the false pretense of promoting education.

The noble struggle of our Hamburg

"PRINCIPLE" No. 3

In the New Buncoing Party of N. Y. Capitalist Class.

FRANCHISES AND TAXATION.

Proceeding from the Hope the Workers do not Know the Law, Laws are Proposed that Already Exist but are not Enforced by the Capitalist Governments—Proceeding from the Hope that the Workers may not Have Learned from Experience, False Economic Theories are Suggested.

Perfidy, which prompted the second "principle" of the new municipal party contemplated by the New York capitalist class, lies also at the bottom of the third "principle," but in this third "principle" there is also an admixture of the "sawdust" game.

"We demand," so runs this plank, "that the city shall retain the ownership of its franchises, and that all grants thereof be for limited periods in order that increases of value shall accrue to the people; we demand stringent supervision of gas and railroad companies, and of all other corporations using city franchises so as to insure adequate service at reasonable rates."

First—if the new party proposes that "the city shall retain the ownership of its franchises," it must be that, at present, the city does not so retain it. This is a neat suggestion of falsehood. No charter is granted but upon the principle that the city does so retain ownership, and may revoke the charter. This is a constitutional matter. This clause is veritable sawdust. It is meant to cheat the uninformed. By voting for it one votes for a thing he now has, but which, of course, does him no good, because the capitalist class in power grants these franchises to itself, and of course won't think of revoking them.

Second—The clause that follows is, however, perfidious. The proposition that franchises shall be granted "for limited periods in order that the increases of value shall accrue to the people," means to convey the idea that the working class can get something over and above its wages, which is a fraudulent suggestion. The fraud meant to be suggested is this:

A franchise is sold in January, 1897, for \$1,000; owing to increase of population and the like, it is worth \$2,000 in January, 1898; if the franchise is not granted for a definite time, this increased value "accrues" to the corporation; but if it is granted for a definite time, say (1) year, then at the expiration of the year it would have to be re-sold; it would be resold for \$2,000, and then the "people" would get the increased value of \$1,000.

In the first place, such a franchise would not be resold for \$1,000 more. The company, aided by the very capitalists in power and the newspapers that they bribe, would claim that the value has declined, and aided by false pretences innumerable, the chances are that the franchise would be resold for the same original price, if not for less. The experience with the Union Pacific shows how a capitalist government can so juggle with finances as to dupe the government each time for the benefit of the capitalists who run it. A provision limiting the time for which franchises are granted would enable the capitalist government to appear as solicitors of the people's rights, and under that appearance be all the more brazen in their deeds of public plunder.

But, in the second place, suppose that such a franchise is sold for a higher price, would the people, the working people, gain anything by it? No. It would reduce taxation, but under the capitalist system, a reduction in taxation leaves not one cent more in the pockets of the workers; it only leaves so much more money in the pockets of the capitalist class.

What the workingman gets is simply his wages, and his wages are the market price of his labor power. This price depends, like the price of potatoes, on the supply of the merchandise labor power and the demand therefor. Improved machinery lowers the demand and increases the supply. The workingman now produces about four dollars' worth of wealth and is paid one dollar for his wages. It is out of the \$3 stolen from him by the capitalist class that the taxes are paid. It follows that a reduction of taxes means simply that the capitalist class keeps so much more of its stolen goods to itself. This proposition to limit the time of franchises is, accordingly, an all around swindle project.

The other clauses of this "principle" No. 3 are of a piece with the two clauses just considered. There can be no "stringent" supervision of capitalist concerns by capitalist, municipal or other officers; the project is as replete with humbug as would be a project to allow a wolf to supervise himself. Furthermore, the bait of "reasonable" or reduced rates means only so much more profit to the capitalist class. The cheaper things become, the cheaper also are wages; the reduction of prices leaves only a larger balance in favor of the capitalist class.

"Principle" No. 3 is forged in the capitalist smithy. No wonder it is advocated by the capitalist parsons, is whooped up by the labor fakirs, and is supported by Republican and Demo-

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential).....	12,066
In 1890.....	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,157
In 1894.....	33,153
In 1896 (Presidential).....	30,563

The Roman slave was held by fetters; the wage laborer is bound to his owner by invisible threads. The appearance of independence is kept up by means of a constant change of employers, and by the "Notio Juris" of a contract.
Karl Marx.

THE POWER OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

For several weeks a dark war cloud has hung over Europe. There are now rifts in the cloud. War probably will not break out, at least it will be deferred so long that its worst consequences will be avoided. Thirty years ago a hundredth part of the provocation to war or the pretext to war furnished now by the Cretan question would promptly have been followed by the beating of the long roll over the main part of Europe, and the private interests of the conflicting capitalist governments would have promptly seized the opportunity to throw their respective governments into war, and thereby fish in troubled waters. Why is it that the occasion has not now been availed of, and the pretext is allowed to slip through? The reason is that no European government is feeling safe at home. The Socialist movement has spread in all in such manner that they all mistrust their own armies, and each fears that, even if it could succeed in keeping its army together on foreign battle fields, its people at home would seize the opportunity, to rise and throw it off.

The Socialist movement, even before the establishment of Socialism, already is asserting its mission of peace in the world. The establishment of Socialism must virtually wipe out war, by wiping out the system that breeds war, together with the class that needs war. The fear of Socialism holds back these murderous classes and, to-day, gives added chances to peace.

Few things are as inspiring as the spectacle presented to this generation of "The Powers" grinding their teeth, panting for slaughter, egged on by the conflicting capitalist interests that push them against one another, and yet held back by the Socialist proletariat.

WHITHER THEY ARE DRIFTING.

With the stench of British ruffianism in South Africa still fresh under the public nostrils, with the recollection of British infamy in India and in China on the public mind, and with the fervid denunciation of British oppression by our own Declaration of Independence fresh in the public ear, Mr. Seth Low, President of Columbia University, uttered himself this wise upon the Government of England at a recent meeting:

"What is the influence of England upon the world to-day? She has planted colonies that have become self-governing on every shore. She is governing hundreds of millions of men in India and in Egypt, replacing disorder by order. England is uplifting men in all parts of the world by replacing disorder by order, and carrying everywhere the spirit of English law."

The next thing we may look to see is history books used at Columbia University teaching that the affair of '76 was all a mistake.

President Low this time was sincerely giving expression to his own and the views of the idle, plundering capitalist class of the land. He and his class are sincere admirers of that Government that earliest of all developed into a national committee of the buccaneer class, and has carried everywhere the spirit of capitalist rapine. At a time when such a committee had not yet been evolved in this country, the British Government and governing class were condemned by the American people; but now that we too have given birth to a similar class and a similar committee, the feelings have been changed, and the two committees have undertaken to cover each other with bouquets.

Mr. Low's speech is one of the best gauges by which to estimate the evolution of the "patriotic" American capitalist class. Fortunately, while these several buccaneers are assuring each other that they admire each other and that they express the views of their respective countries, the people who really are the country are drawing together upon very different lines and are preparing the day when, these buccaneers being thrown overboard, the path will be opened for a civilization very different from that which now enchants Mr. Low.

TAKE NOTE.
It is said that silence often is the choicest eloquence. Whether eloquent or not, silence is often most expressive. Of this the capitalist press of the land has last week furnished a striking illustration.
Austria was having her first popular election. The masses, hitherto shut off from the suffrage by property qualifications, appeared now for the first time at the hustings. The interest created in the elections was wide spread in the Empire, and the cablegrams brought extensive reports of the political contest. What, one would ask, would be the attitude of a press, said to be democratic, in a country, said to be republican, at the new departure toward popular rule in one of the traditionally most oligarchic countries? One would certainly expect that the occasion would be extensively used to point with pride to the progress of civilization. It was just the reverse. While our press has been teeming with news of the European Courts, while Court scandals and government intrigues were extensively commented on, not a line of editorial matter appeared upon the progress of democracy in Austria.
Nor is this to be wondered at. The American plutocratic press has abandoned the ways of the "Fathers," and turned to the opposite direction. While elsewhere the ballot is extending, here the "Sons" and "Daughters" of the Revolution are conspiring to abridge it. The press is their creature, the truthful, faithful exponent of their views, their hopes and their fears. Their views are that the people should be excluded from a share in the government, their hopes are that they may succeed in carrying out their conspiracy, and their fears are that the tide of progress may be too strong for them to stem. Silence at the course of events in Austria is just now the most eloquent expression of these views, hopes and fears.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

The Minneapolis "Socialist Labor Party Bulletin" for March has this condensed account of the "French Commune":

"Every 18th of March witnesses thousands of gatherings throughout the civilized world to commemorate the Paris Commune—the temporary victory in 1871 of organized Socialist aspiration over the forces of property and privilege. The Socialist administration in Paris was brief, for French and German capitalists, in an unholy alliance, threw their armies against Paris, captured it from the French working people and followed up their treachery by executing 30,000 proletarians—men, women and children. The privileged classes thought thus to crush forever labor movements in Paris, but today the French Socialists have 62 members in the national chamber of deputies and have elected majorities in the council of Paris and 28 other large cities and in 1,200 small cities; 1,400,000 Socialist votes in France and 1,876,738 Socialist votes in Germany are a reply to capitalist treachery in stamping out in blood the Paris Commune."

The Milwaukee, Wis., "Union Signal" is not fooled by the false pretenses of the arbitration treaty. It says on that subject justly:

"That arbitration treaty is a Trojan horse."

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen" is camping in grand style on the trail of the labor fakirs. In commenting upon John McBride's despicable attempt to defend Hanna against the charge of being a foe to labor, it says:

"John McBride, ex-president of the A. F. of L., has, at this late date, rushed to the defense of Mark Hanna and absolved the boss from the charge of being a foe to organized labor. This notwithstanding the past record of the man, his recent iron-clad agreement with his Pennsylvania miners which prevents the latter from striking, the weeding out of union men in Hanna's iron mines, and the ten per cent reduction declared several weeks ago. Mr. McBride says in his alleged labor paper, the 'Columbus Record,' that there has been 'wrong done to Mr. Hanna,' and he (McBride) will endeavor to prevent the labor organizations of Ohio from being used in the future as catpaws to pull the chestnuts out of the other candidates for the Senatorship out of the fire."

"McBride's proclamation is equivalent to saying, and is so being interpreted by Republicans, that the Bryan managers, one of whom was McBride, used the labor organizations last fall to pull chestnuts from the fire, which, if true, ought to stamp the man as wholly untrustworthy. But McBride's whitewashing effort is useless. The charges that Mr. Hanna is a labor-crusher are true, and they have never been and cannot be successfully denied, notwithstanding the attempts of the Pomeroy, Carneys and McBrides to do so. The charges were made before Bryan was nominated and before McKinley was nominated, and, therefore, they were not sprung in the interest of the Democracy any more than to aid the Socialist Labor party."

"John McBride has always borne the reputation of being a schemer, and some of the miners of this and neighboring states can reveal some interesting facts, and there are others besides miners who can do likewise. This latest move of McBride's suggests the query in union circles, What is McBride after now? and among certain other people, Did Congressmen Grosvenor or Col. Reid pull the string this time?"

"While we are not prepared to say that Mark Hanna is any better or worse than the average plutocrat, John McBride, by his latest example of duplicity, has placed himself in the category of labor skates, and whatever little influence he may have had among unthinking union men will probably be lost forever."

OPEN LETTERS.

To the United States "Patriots"—No. 4.
To the Clergyman.

While here on earth, where death and birth reciprocate each other,
Each man should love his fellowman
As dearly as a brother.
But this he dare not, cannot do,
Whatever his intention,
While profit, interest, and rent
Are objects of contention.

Dear Mr. Clergyman:—You are in an exceedingly precarious predicament. For eighteen hundred years you have been in the special business of brushing up and renovating a lot of intensely selfish, cunning, vicious, bloodthirsty animals called men and women, and you have made a dead failure of the job. Now, don't you think it is time for you to get out, or to begin all over again? The fact is, my dear pulpiteer, you have been working on the wrong end of the social disease. The nasty social ulcers of sin and wickedness on which you have been wasting your valuable time and spreading your irritating ointments of creeds and doctrinal quibbles, ought to have been attacked at the other end and worked out of the social system by a proper administration of judicious doses of common sense justice. I think you were on the right track until you fell in with that murderous thief, Constantine, at the Council of Nicea. He certainly began to use you for purposes of political inquisition and oppression, and you became so mixed up with the corruption against which you had been fighting that you became a part of the social disorder itself. Ever since then you have occupied one of two positions. You have either been a very slippery hypocrite or a hypnotized fanatic, and have proved a real obstruction to genuine social evolution. What are you going to do about it?

At the present time the legs of the rich man's table, which separate the rich man from Lazarus, have grown to such a length that Lazarus can't see the rich man, and the rich man don't want to see Lazarus. But the only buffer between the two, middle class of society, is rapidly evaporating, and going up to the rich man in smoke or down to Lazarus in ashes, and soon the legs of the table are going to break, and there is going to be a bump. Where will you be at? Are you going to cling to the rich oppressor or help the oppressed and suffering poor?

I know you indulge in an idealistic conception of history, and are thoroughly convinced that if you repeat certain prayers, creeds and formulas at stated intervals, some great unseen being will do the rest while you go fishing. Now, you want to get rid of this erroneous notion. The fact is "Life is real, life is earnest," and to fleece your fellowman is, at the present time, about the only goal there is to it. Now, I have got you down to the very well-spring of evil, the place where the devil drinks his fill and lies down to rest. Do you want to make the world better? If you do, just get into politics and help to kill the hydra-headed monsters profit, interest and rent—of capitalism, in short.

It is to get rich through these methods—without doing any honest work, that causes ninety-five per cent. of all our social wickedness. The improved methods of production and distribution of commodities that we now have at our command, if owned and operated by, and for, the people collectively would, instantaneously remove from society the objects of contention, hate and crime, and bring on earth that for which you pretend to have been praying ever since you started in business.

My dear friend, if you ever expect to have that prayer, "Thy kingdom come," answered, you must start at once at the materialistic end of human nature. If you are too stupid to make things just, peaceable and happy on earth, what kind of a pitiable object will you be in heaven?

I know you have unlimited confidence in the efficacy of the altruistic feeling to ultimately establish brotherly love and perfect justice on earth; still, I venture to assert that history fails to record a single instance of the altruistic feeling attaining sufficient intensity in the governing class of any country to induce it to make the slightest concession to the governed without being actually compelled to do so. Besides, we do not want our sufferings alleviated through altruism anyhow. We are not dumb brutes!

We are men and women, with reason and common sense. We want justice! Until we get it in actual fact and everyday life, as well as on the Declaration of Independence, there can be no permanent peace and goodwill on earth. That altruism which seeks to improve the general condition of the toiling masses through charitable organizations, or even through paternalism of city or State governments, as, for instance, the Glasgow or Russian methods—is simply a cunning device of insatiable capitalists to more economically exploit the producers of wealth. We cannot say anything for it except that it is scientific injustice.

Any kind of charity that can only display itself by expropriating, through unjust laws and cunning devices four-fifths of what a human being produces, and then gives him back a mouthful, barely one-fourth, to keep him alive, is a counterfeit of the rankest kind; an insult of which any Christian people ought to be ashamed.

You have preached this kind of doctrine altogether too long. If you intend to continue it, I shall advocate driving you into the ranks of the big army of idle men who have been displaced by improved machinery, by employing a phonograph in every pulpit to repeat the monotonous services.

All your metaphysical doctrines, dogmas, sects and denominations must give first place to the platform of justice; and if you cannot stand on this platform and enter the political fight of the masses for emancipation from wage slavery, robbery, oppression and individualistic anarchism, and help them to the higher level in the social evolution on which scientific, democratic Socialism will place them, you had better retire to a monastery, and not continue an obstacle to progress.
PHILIP JACKSON.
Rochester, N. Y.

The New York "Evening Post," a fire-eater when Labor is in question, claims that the arbitration treaty
"Will make war out of the question."
As though capitalist governments will ever feel restrained, or have ever felt restrained by any sort of treaty from making war when war seemed lucrative to them.

SOCIALISM AND SENTIMENT.

Feelings Undirected by Knowledge are at the Bottom of all Mischief.

[From the London Justice by H. Quitch.]
Objection is sometimes taken to the insistence by Social-Democrats on the importance of economics; and we are represented as a heartless, cast-iron, unfeeling crew who would rob life of all its brightness, beauty, love, and sympathy. Socialism, we are told sometimes, includes human life in all its phases, and there is room in it for love and light and beauty—not mere dry-as-dust science. No Social-Democrat ever denied this. But what we insist on is that the material change is essential to the moral change; that it is the material conditions which, in the main, dominate all other conditions; and that, therefore, some knowledge of the economic conditions of to-day, and the laws which arise out of those conditions, is not only useful, but necessary. If any reference is made to the "mere" sentimentalist, it is not that the Social-Democrat despises sentiment, but that the man who has only sentiment and no knowledge has not gone very far. We believe that, generally speaking, everybody's sentiments are all right, and they all have their hearts in the right place. The desire for good is a common human possession, and therefore he who only possesses that—who is merely a sentimentalist—is not different to other people. Sound sentiment—the desire for better things, for a nobler life—is common to all people, even the most depraved. It would be a sad thing for Socialism if it were otherwise. In that case we should indeed have a heavy task before us, for then it would be true, as our opponents assert, that we must first of all change human nature. As it is, what we have to change is not human nature, but human comprehension; not people's hearts, but their understanding. Sentiment is the motive power, but without proper direction good intentions are just as likely to lead people wrong as right. Indeed, it is not too much to say that much, if not most, of all the mischief that has ever been done in the world has been the result of good intentions misdirected. It is not only true that "Evil is wrought by want of thought as well as want of heart." It is much more true to say that want of knowledge is more often responsible for mischief than is evil intent.

What is Liberalism? A Liberal would say that it means the greatest good of the greatest number. What, then, is Conservatism? Does that mean the greatest evil of the greatest number? Not at all. A Conservative would say that it means the conservation of all that is good, and the rejection of all that is bad. And so we might go on. What does the Social Reformer, the Temperance advocate, the Salvationist, the Missionary, the Evangelist desire but the good of mankind? Humbugs and hypocrites there are doubtless among all these, but who will deny that the majority of them are sincere and earnest in their advocacy and animated by the best intentions and the noblest sentiments? These people hate wrong and deplore human misery quite as ardently as any Socialist can do. Surely there is no Socialist so conceited or so priggish as to claim for our party a monopoly of sympathy with human suffering. No. But it will be said that the Socialist, animated by a high ideal, sees, what these others do not see, that a change of condition is necessary; that it is necessary in order to realize his ideal that the people should socially own the means of life; that landlordism and capitalism should be abolished. Precisely. But what is this but a difference of economic view? The only real difference between the Socialist and the social reformer, or any other individualist for that matter, is simply this economic difference. The social reformer says, change the environment, the economic conditions. Nobody would pretend for a moment that every Socialist has become so by economic study. Of some this may be true, but in the majority of cases it is generous human impulse stirred to sympathy with suffering and eventually driven to conclude that Socialism offers the only way out. But if the convert to Socialism stays there, his Socialism is little better than a pious opinion, and even if he attempts to propagate it he is as likely to do harm as good, if he will not take the trouble to understand the material basis of the faith he professes. Impulse, agitation, must precede education, but as "faith without works is dead," so agitation without education is almost useless. A man with a musket may be a good patriot, but it requires drill and practice to make him a good soldier. An Atlantic liner is a magnificent means of crossing to America, but however ardent may be the desire of the passengers to get across, they would be much more likely to reach Davy Jones than Sandy Hook if those in charge of the vessel knew nothing about navigation. It would not be necessary for the captain to know much about America, but it would be necessary for him to know something about the course to be traversed, in order to reach there in safety. So it is necessary for the Socialist, not to know all about the material arrangements of the future society—the people of the future will see to that—but to understand the operation of the material conditions of to-day, in order to deal effectively with the pressing questions of our own time and to work most effectually toward our end. It is necessary to point this out, because even yet there are some, good Socialists too, and people who seem to think that Socialist economics are theories of the material conditions of the time that is to be. If they were they would be utopian, and not scientific at all.

SPENCER REBUKED.

The Inevitability of Socialism.

The gravitational doctrine of Newton has found verification in succeeding centuries, but the Newtonian or emissive theory of light has given place to the undulatory theory of Huyghens. Karl Marx is the Huyghens of Herbert Spencer. The philosophical anarchism of the Spencerian sociology is inconsistent with the general scheme of evolution which its great author has so magnificently elaborated in "Physics, Biology and Psychology." There is a world-wide difference between the heterogeneous communalism of Socialism and the homogeneous communalism of the primitive savages. To identify the former with the latter is not less ridiculous than to give the same essential quality to the negative atheism of the ignorant, and the attitude of the science-bred modern agnostic. To confound the co-ordinating influence of the State with the paternalism of a patriarchal community is tantamount to saying that the citizens of a democracy are the fathers of themselves.

Apostles of "laissez faire" who object to the "militarism" of Socialism have utterly disregarded the fact that militarism is not altogether evil, and that, while Socialism, in abolishing the industrial warfare which "laissez faire" intensifies from day to day, will eradicate the evils of militarism, it will retain the military benefits of integration and organization of forces—benefits destined to accomplish as much, in proportion, in the production of wealth, as Caesar's legions accomplished in the destruction of wealth and life, compared to the mob-like hosts of the ancient Germans and Gauls.

While the ultimate triumph of Socialism may be deduced from purely historical considerations, the most convincing proof of its inevitability is to be found in an analogy drawn between the social and animal organisms—an analogy which is a "reductio ad absurdum" of "laissez faire." Is it not manifest that, if properly understood, government or the State bears precisely the same relation to the social as the brain bears to the animal organism? Is not the assertion that "the ideal society is the one in which functions of government are most reduced" equivalent to saying that "the most civilized human being is the one most destitute of brains?"

HERBERT M. MERRILL.
Plymouth, N. H.

For an Italian Paper.

All Comrades and sympathizers who realize the importance of upholding a Socialist paper in the Italian language in this country are requested to send contributions and subscriptions to Comrade C. F. Garzone, 14 Varick place, New York City. Send at least a nickel. "Il Proletario" needs assistance. To discontinue its valuable work would be a serious setback to the movement among the Italian wage earners.

appreciate the true tendency of their work. Any number of fads, frauds, and fallacies are started, taken up enthusiastically, worked at and pushed forward, only to reward their advocates and supporters with emptiness and disappointment. Every day, almost, some fresh nostrum is brought forward and finds supporters, which would be laughed out of existence if people had given the least attention to the elements of economics. It would seem to require but very little consideration to show the utter uselessness of what is known as the Single-Tax, not only as a solution of the social problem, but even as a means of destroying the land monopoly. Yet how many earnest, active, good-hearted men and women, Socialists at heart, many of them, are wasting their time and their energy for a measure, which, if it were carried out to-morrow, would not make the slightest difference in the material conditions of the working people, and could only bring disappointment to the sincere spirits who are now striving so strenuously for its realization. And yet we are rebuffed for insisting on the importance of economics, and assured, with that air of superiority which somehow is always allied to ignorance, that Socialism is not a mere question of the stomach—as if anybody ever said it was—and that so long as people's hearts are in the right place, nothing else matters! To take what may be considered a minor point, but which goes to show the importance of sound economic knowledge: The recent discussion in Justice on "Capitalist Exploitation" was encouraging as showing a growing interest on economic questions. But it also showed some curious confusion of thought, and the need for further study. To many people, doubtless, it appears a small matter whether it is held that surplus-value is created in the workshop and included in the cost of production, or that it is some thing "added on" by the seller which the consumer has to pay. Yet just see where the latter conclusion would lead us. If surplus-value were added on, and the consumer had to provide it, it is obvious that the worker is not exploited only in so far as he is a consumer; therefore, all he has to do to avoid being exploited is to work for nothing and consume nothing; so that the higher his pay and the more he consumes, the more is the worker exploited. It is this fallacy which underlies the whole theory of the great advantage of universal cheapness, and that it is the consumer, and not the producer, who is to be considered. It would be easy to enumerate any number of fallacies which have misled and do mislead the most well-meaning people. But enough has been said to show that the highest and noblest sentiment is nothing unless properly directed, that enthusiasm without education is often worse than useless, and that Socialists, of all people, can least afford to disdain economic knowledge. For us—illimitable though the developments of Socialism may appear to us; bright and beautiful though our ideal—its realization depends upon placing the material conditions of life under the control of organized humanity: upon building its economic foundation deep and sure; and to this end we keep aloft our old motto, "Agitate, Educate, Organize." Agitate, for we need all our enthusiasm; Educate, for we need all our intelligence; Organize, for we may need all our force.

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UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—I'm going to join a 16 to 1 free coinage league.
Uncle Sam—Why so?
B. J.—To get a law passed increasing the number of dollars.
U. S.—What good will that do you?
B. J.—The value of the dollar depends upon the number of dollars there are. The more dollars there are the cheaper they will be.
U. S.—That's stuff and nonsense. But even if that were so, what good would it do you?
B. J.—Can't you get more sugar for a given amount of money when the sugar is cheap than when it is dear?
U. S.—Certainly.
B. J.—So likewise you could get more dollars.
U. S.—For what, for a given amount of money?
B. J.—No, for a given amount of labor.
U. S.—Don't you yet know that the price of labor depends upon the supply of labor and the demand for labor?
B. J.—Why, certainly I know that.
U. S.—And haven't you yet learned that machinery and the concentration of capital are every day raising the supply above the demand, by wholesale displacements of labor?
B. J.—Why, of course, I know that. Am I not suffering of low wages? That's the very reason I wish and why I am so hot after more money.
U. S.—If you admit that the price of your labor is going down, then you must also admit that, even if the price of money depended upon what you say, and even if it were cheaper in case it were more plentiful, you would not be better off with free coinage than you are now. Let the dollar cheapen, if your labor cheapens along with it you remain with your nose to the grindstone.
B. J.—But I have had all that explained to me in a different way.
U. S.—Do you use your brains when someone explains a thing to you, or do you let anyone who comes by stuff you promiscuously?
B. J.—I don't mean to let them stuff me.
U. S.—Did you understand the explanation I just gave you?
B. J.—I did.
U. S.—Whenever a man approaches you with a proposition that is to benefit labor keep your eye, all your five senses centered on this one question, In what way will the proposition counteract the law of supply and demand? If it does not don't listen; the man is either a fool or a knave.
B. J.—But then we workers are doomed, the law of supply and demand is a natural law.
U. S.—Is it "natural" that your finger burn?
B. J.—Yes, if it is in the fire.
U. S.—If you pull it out it becomes natural that it don't burn, eh?
B. J.—Just so.
U. S.—The law of supply and demand which reduces wages is a natural law under the capitalist system. Overthrow the capitalist system, and labor ceases to be a merchandise. Then supply and demand works differently. Either keep up capitalism, and submit to low wages; or knock it down and be free. There is no alternative.

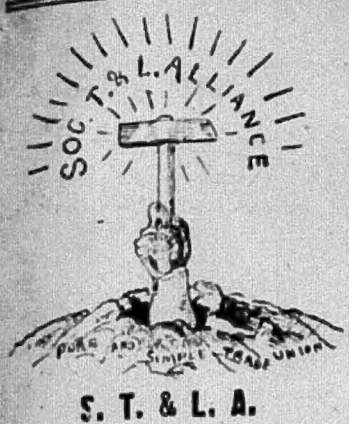
MARK HANNA, SWEET HANNA.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by T. A. H., Brooklyn.]

AIR: "The Willow," from the Mikado.
With apologies to W. S. GILBERT.

On the stoop of the White House Bill McKinley sat,
Singing "Hanna, Sweet Hanna; Mark Hanna."
And I said to him, "Billy, why talk thro' your hat
About Hanna, Sweet Hanna; Mark Hanna?"
Is it weakness of intellect, Billy, I cried,
"Or the \$118,000 of notes in Mark Hanna's inside?"
With a shake of his poor little head he replied:
"Oh, Hanna; Sweet Hanna; Mark Hanna!"
He scratched his bald head as he sat on the stoop,
Singing "Hanna, Sweet Hanna; Mark Hanna."
And groaned like a baby that's suffering from croup,
"Oh, Hanna, Sweet Hanna; Mark Hanna."
Then he sobbed and he sighed, and a gurgle he gave,
He looked like a man on the brink of the grave;
Not a word did he mutter to any one save
"Oh, Hanna, Sweet Hanna; Mark Hanna."
Now I feel just as sure as I'm sure that my name
Is not Hanna, Sweet Hanna; Mark Hanna,
That 'twas fear of the future that made him exclaim,
"Oh, Hanna, Sweet Hanna; Mark Hanna."
In the dear days to come, in the sweet bye and bye,
When McKinley steps out with a tear in his eye,
And Matchett steps in, you can bet he won't cry
"Oh, Hanna, Sweet Hanna; Mark Hanna."

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.



and a self-respecting man, I would have to decline to appear upon a platform on which so despicable a character as De Leon will appear.

Fraternally yours,
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President A. F. of L.

The effect of these two letters was all that could be expected, and the fakirs soon felt it, too. Gompers' letter increased the conviction that he knew his cause was so bad that he did not propose to bring it in close contrast with New Trade Unionism, and the rowdism that his letter breathed was understood to be an attempt at playing cuttle fish. The fakirs were furious at the committee for having made the two letters public, but the broad rank and file was proportionally glad, as was shown by the exceptionally large size of the meeting.

Mayor Ramsdell, who was elected last December on a Populist-Democratic ticket, presided. H. C. White, of the co-operative foundry, spoke first, about 15 minutes, and then the Mayor introduced De Leon with some very complimentary remarks.

De Leon's address lasted an hour and a half. It traced the development of the labor movement, giving the economic laws of the situation, and pointing out the absurdity and wrong-headedness of the "pure and simple" organization. To illustrate his point he took the census of the hall. No one raised his hand to the question: "Who of you gets now better wages than he did ten years ago?" But at the following question: "Who of you gets now poorer wages than ten years ago?" it looked as if every arm went up; and he closed, saying:

"The posture of the dues-collecting officers of the 'pure and simple' union towards us New Trade Unionists is parallel with the posture of the capitalist class toward the workingman. When the workingman demands higher wages the capitalist class says he wants to 'wreck the nation'; the capitalist knows that higher wages mean less plunder in the capitalists' pockets, and it identifies the nation with its pockets. So with the leaders of the 'pure and simple' union; they know that their occupation of living on the backs of the workers and trading them off to the capitalist politicians will be gone, and is going in proportion as New Trade Unionism progresses and emancipates the rank and file from their misleaders; when these 'pure and simple' officers, therefore, howl about our being 'union wreckers,' they simply identify the union with their pockets. But for the same reason that labor is not a wrecker of the nation, although it would wreck the idle capitalist class, the new Trades Unionist, or Socialist, is not a wrecker of unions, although it certainly will wreck and is now wrecking the labor fakir leaders. And for the same reason that labor and the success of its demands are the surest guarantee that the nation will not be wrecked, the Socialist or new Trades Unionist and the success of his demands are the surest guarantee that the union will live."

It was idle to say that the audience that faced De Leon was friendly to his views from the start. There were many friends, but the bulk of the audience consisted of working people who came to "find out." Before he got through they had "found out." Soon after he started in every point scored was accentuated with more and more emphatic applause that soon took in the whole audience. The address accomplished its purpose. The working class of Lynn heard the undiluted gospel of human redemption, and the scales were torn from their eyes upon the attitude of the capitalist, the capitalist system, and the labor fakir. Honest opponents left as warm supporters of New Trade Unionism. This was sufficiently indicated by the applause upon the close of the address. But Mayor Ramsdell, the chairman, afforded a further proof.

Before adjourning the meeting, the Mayor declared his approval of every word the speaker had uttered, made a glowing eulogy of the argument that had been presented, and wound up saying:

"If you agree with me, I invite you to rise in your seats and give three hearty cheers to Daniel De Leon, and wish him God-speed in his work."

The huge audience rose, men and women, and responded enthusiastically.

LETTER BOX.

Offhand Answers to Inquirers.

Organizer, Section Haverhill.—Communication referred to National Executive Committee.

Henry A. Beckmeyer, Newark, N. J.—At first we imputed your erratic notions to mere ignorance; complete experience has corrected this opinion. There is system in your ignorance. We have followed your crooked jumps closely. Whether you turn up with your silly "Consumers' Circle" or as a puller-in for brewing companies, or as a political heeler to switch the workers away from the S. L. P., your purpose is always the same: To fish in troubled waters. Your impudence is great to apply here for support in your schemes.

J. E. N. Y.—The passage is quite clear. The foe of the race is poverty. The weapon to fight that foe is the tool. The tool is such a weapon because it is able to produce plentifully. Consequently, competition is an obstacle in the way of the tool's work; thus competition threatens to nullify the tool and destroys the edge of the tool.

X. Y. Z., N. Y.—We don't know of any such collection.

C. Kersten, Boston.—Money order as you propose will reach safely.

Daily People Minor Fund.

Previously acknowledged	\$552.75
March 3, Branch 1, 25th Ward Brooklyn	1.16
" 3, William Ruppe	1.00
" 3, Carl Koehl	1.00
" 9, Fr. Lemke, Foxboro, Mass.	.25
" 8, Arthur Lange, Gloversville, N. Y.	.50
" 12, 23d Assembly District, N. Y., on List No. 161	1.35
" 13, Workingmen's Educational Club, Brooklyn	2.00
" 15, N. Y. Soc. Literary Society	1.30
" 16, Stephen P. Mahoney, Boston, Mass.	1.00
	\$1,562.31

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Sec'y.

SOCIAL CONTRASTS

Which We Are Striving to Wipe Out.

LOOK AT THIS PICTURE,

Bulletin of Luxury!

The gold-plated, marble-lined bathroom which is to be such a feature of Claus Spreckels's new house has created a great deal of stir in San Francisco and elsewhere. But the New York elite wonders why.

A certain wealthy man living in Fifth avenue, abreast of Central Park, is said to have the finest bathroom in New York city. He has a large house, but the casual passer-by would be surprised to know that it contains ten bathrooms. They are all elaborate enough, but it is the master of the house who has the finest one. The floor of the room is of the finest Carrara marble. So are the walls up to a height of about five feet. Above that line are plate-glass mirrors. The tub is an imported one of porcelain and all the fittings are of sterling silver. Even the elaborate framework of the shower bath is of silver. The owner of this house is building a mansion in Newport, and the fitting up of eight bathrooms is no insignificant item of the cost.

Among the fine bathrooms in New York is that of Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt. Hers is the most beautiful of the fifteen bathrooms in the Vanderbilt house at Fifth avenue and Fifty-seventh street. The room itself is about twelve by sixteen feet, and is absolutely perfect in appointment. The chief object of beauty in the furnishing is the tub. This tub is about five feet in length, and is cut from a solid piece of pure white Carrara marble. The interior is beautifully polished and the exterior is elaborately carved. The whole thing was made in Italy, and brought to this country at an expense which can only be guessed at by people who are in the habit of bringing home marble masterpieces of sculpture for their bath tubs. The tub rests on carved marble supports. The floor is paved with white tiles, and the walls to the height of four or five feet are wainscoted with white tiles exquisitely decorated in gold. The remainder of the wall space is covered with mirrors, and a unique feature of the room is the ceiling, which is also formed of mirrors.

Henry Marquand's house has been famous for its beautiful bathrooms, and at the time of Whitelaw Reid's nomination for Vice-President a great deal was written about the silver-plated plumbing in his country place at Ophir Farm. The fact is that the bathrooms there, while they are finely appointed, have been eclipsed by a great many others, about which nothing has ever been heard.

There are probably more fine bathrooms in New York city than in several European capitals lumped together. There is one variety of bath, however, which does not seem to take the fancy of the American capitalists. There is no fondness for those that are sunk into the floor. There are a few of them in New York, but none of the finest are of this kind. This may, of course, be because bathrooms are generally on the upper floors of houses. But people who spend \$10,000 or \$15,000 on such things would probably have sunken baths if they wanted them.

A banker living in one of the streets west of the Park has a bathroom fitted up after designs brought from Europe. In his case there are none of the usual pipes and faucets for supplying water to the tub. Instead there are two life-size swans of solid silver, which spout respectively hot and cold water from their open bills.

People of wealth are very particular about their bathrooms. They are not only particular, they are capricious. People spend thousands of dollars fitting up their baths, and after a little while they take a notion that something else will suit them better. They rip out the onyx slabs; don't like the color. They take out the costly porcelain tub; it's too high or too low. And so it goes—literally goes.

As to the height, the new bathrooms are furnished with tubs which rest directly on the floor, instead of being raised by marble or porcelain feet. As for the cost of a fine bathroom, one plumber said that the finest one he had put in cost \$15,000. The "ordinary" fine bathroom costs from \$1,500 to \$2,000. The bathrooms in the new hotels cost about \$700 apiece. One of the largest of these hotels contains \$200,000 worth of bathrooms. As far as the durability of gold and silver fixtures is concerned, there is not much difference; either will tarnish if not cleaned regularly. If the fixtures are silver-plated, the plating will have to be renewed occasionally, once every year or every five years, or every ten years, according to the quality of the plating. If it is sterling silver, however, it will last a lifetime.

Once a year is quite enough to have the plumbing tested for the escape of sewer gas. There are two methods of doing this—the peppermint test and the smoke test. The latter is regarded as the more absolute, although both are used. When such a test is made the regular escapes for the water are plugged up, and smoke is pumped into the pipes from the roof. For this purpose there is a special machine which combines a furnace and a force pump. In the little furnace are put old rags or discarded Christmas trees or anything which will make a fine smoke. As soon as these are in good smoking condition the smudge is forced down into the pipes and a tour of examination is made. If the smoke escapes at any point it can be detected at once.

The peppermint test is managed from the roof also. The escapes are plugged up, and then about a pint of peppermint oil is poured down the roof pipe, followed by a bucket of hot water. The odor of the peppermint is so penetrating that it will quickly escape at any defective spot. But the man who handles the peppermint has to stay on the roof until the examination is complete, or the whole house will be permeated with the odor. It isn't so easy to locate exactly a leak by this test as by the smoke test, either for the odor of the peppermint quickly becomes general and cannot be so easily traced. When the plumbing of a new building is completed all of the escapes are closed, and the pipes are then filled with water clear to the top of the one opening or the roof. They are left this way for examination by an inspector.

AND THEN AT THIS!

Bulletin of Misery!

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 20.—Geo. Williams, a machinist, from Newark, N. J., was caught asleep in a freight car last night, and, after a hard plea for mercy, was given time to leave town.

Williams is not a thoroughbred hobo, but a man willing to work if he could get it.

"This is the first time I was ever in court, judge," he said, after the officer had testified, "and if you'll give me the opportunity, I'll leave town."

A correspondent to one of the New York dailies sends in the following communication:

I spent yesterday afternoon in and around 484 Grand street, and am so deeply impressed with the objects of utter misery that I am constrained to offer the story of my experience to you for publication. Some who may not be thoroughly convinced of the terrible condition of the poor of the city, and who have no opportunity to go personally as I did, to convince themselves, may be made to realize something more of the crying need for the contribution which they have been hesitating over, as I hesitated.

I shall confine myself to one case in particular. This case was an old woman of about seventy years of age who came with the throng to get a pail of soup and a basket of old clothes. She was clothed in a light film of dirt and calico, with a shawl around her shoulders, which she continually clutched at in a vain effort to make it cover another inch of freezing flesh. On her head she had nothing but a shock of white hair. She had on her feet what had been shoes, but which had been worn to shreds half way back from her toes, which left her ragged stockings sloshing in the mud and snow.

After being supplied with some clothing and a gallon of steaming hot soup, she came out of the station and started away, and I followed her. She stopped six times within two blocks and drank greedily of the soup, mumbling all the while. She was so exhausted that she could not go around persons hurrying along the street, and several times collided with them to their disgust, but she seemed to take it as a matter of course, and resumed her way. It seems impossible that such a forlorn spectacle could walk a public street and brush against those in comfortable and luxurious circumstances without attracting their attention, but such was the case.

After getting a few blocks away from the relief station she seemed to regain a particle of pride, and would slip into the alleyways and drink her soup instead of stopping in the street to drink as before. Now and then she stopped to dig into a garbage barrel for cigar stumps and bits of coal, which she ate away in her rags. These frightful evidences of woe and poverty convinced me that she would be as worthy an object of my little bit of intended charity as I could find, so I approached her, and, tapping her shoulder, I pointed to her bare feet and put a bill into her hand. She was so astonished that she let the bill fall to the ground and stared at me like a statue.

I picked up the money and put it in her hand again. She had recovered by this time, and as the tears rolled down her deeply furrowed cheeks she thanked me and blessed me so much that passers-by were attracted by it, and I walked quickly away to escape notice. She ran after me and fell on her knees in two or three inches of mud and snow, holding her arms up as if trying to embrace the Almighty God. She prayed in pure English the most profoundly pathetic prayer of thanks I have ever heard. A crowd quickly collected and lifted her to her feet, and after gazing around half dazed she started on a trot down the street. I kept behind her and followed. Several times she stopped to look at the money, and each time looked upward and said something no one heard but God.

I followed her to No. 235 Mulberry street. She had gone all this distance—a walk of four miles—for a drink of hot soup. By the time she reached home she had drunk half of the soup. No. 235 Mulberry street is one of a row of dirty, red stone buildings. Next to this store is an alleyway, or, more properly, a tunnelway about three feet wide and high enough for a person to walk through, running back to the rear of the stores to a row of wretched tenement buildings. This narrow, dark passage is the only opening to the streets from any direction, the rear of the houses being almost covered up by a large carriage factory.

In through this opening, over which might be written "Leave hope behind, all ye who enter here," and into the bottom floor, which is a half basement, this old remnant of a past generation lived, and I did not follow her in. I questioned another occupant of the house about her, and got the information that she "kept lodgers." Her lodgers consisted of three women who shared her two or three rooms, enabling her to pay \$5 rent.

Near the hour of closing of the New York soup-house, a well dressed and refined woman came in. Her face was thin and pale and her eyes red from weeping. Her husband was a painter, and had been laid up for several months through injuries received by falling from a building. She and her sick husband had not had a meal for over a week, and she actually seemed to be on the verge of starvation. She gave her name as Mrs. Herbert G. Stone, No. 2031 Amsterdam avenue, and said she would be glad to do any kind of honorable work that was offered.

Charles Stucker was committed to the workhouse in Essex Market Police Court. Magistrate Flammer sent him there at his own request.

Like hundreds of other unfortunates Stucker was unable to find employment. Desperate with cold and hunger, he accosted Policeman Hackett, of the Fifth Street Station, early yesterday morning and asked to be locked up.

"Why should I lock you up?" asked the policeman.

"Simply because I am starving, and have no home," replied Stucker. I can give you a good reason to arrest me if you want one. It isn't hard to break a window."

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

National Executive.

Regular meeting held the 16th day of March, 1897; present all members; Comrade Moore in the chair.

Minutes of the previous meeting read and approved.

Financial report for week ending March 13, 1897: Receipts \$114.95; Expenses, \$22.46; Balance, \$92.49.

The editor of "The People" having submitted to the National Executive Committee certain resolutions from Section Haverhill, Mass.,

Resolved, that the editor of "The People" be instructed not to print said resolutions and that the Secretary communicate to said Section the reasons therefor.

The report of the sub-committee in the matter of the proposition of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung Publishing Association" was received, and on motion adopted as the action of this committee.

J. C. Anderson was reinstated by Section Omaha.

Franz Prinz was admitted as member at large at Grafton, W. Va.

CHAS. B. COPP, Rec. Sec'y.

TO ARTISTS WHO ARE MEMBERS OF THE S. L. P. OF THE UNITED STATES.

The National Executive Committee of our party is desirous of having a new charter designed for its use. It believes that this design can be more appropriately drawn by artists who are members of the S. L. P. of the U. S. than by those who are not, as they are more likely to possess clearer conceptions of the spirit and aims of Socialism, than are the others. It has, accordingly, decided to invite all artist members to participate in a competition for a prize of \$50, to be awarded by the undersigned committee, for the best design submitted in accordance with the following rules:

1. The design must be symbolical in character and so conceived as to embody the ideals of socialism, introduce the party emblem, "The Arm and Hammer," MOST PROMINENTLY, and include within its dimensions, the lettering: Charter of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America.

To the Organizer,.....and Comrades of.....County,.....State of.....GREETING: Your application has been granted and your Section placed on our roll as Section.....of our Party.

Secretary, National Executive Committee.

Chairman of the Session.
Dated at New York.....1897

2. It must be 10 inches wide and 18 inches long, and drawn upon Bristol board 14 inches wide and 22 inches long, thus leaving a margin of 4 inches.

3. It must be executed in black and white (India ink wash tints preferred), and as to be suitable for reproduction by either the lithographic, steel, or half-tone photo-engraving process, AT A MODERATE COST.

4. Each design must be signed ON THE OUTSIDE OF COVERING, by a non-de-plume by the respective competitors, with the words "Charter Competition" added.

5. All designs must be carefully sealed and delivered to the undersigned committee on or before April 1st, 1897.

6. On the 2d of April, 1897, or a few days thereafter, the undersigned committee will open and inspect the designs received, and award the prize to the one receiving the majority vote of the committee.

7. The committee will then announce its decision and request the winner to give his name and address, and that of the Branch or Section of which he is a member. Should it be found that the winner is not a member, the committee will award the prize to the second best design, and so on, until a winner who is also a member is found.

8. The receipt of designs and the award of prize will be announced in THE PEOPLE and "Vorwaerts."

9. The designs of unsuccessful competitors will be returned to them upon receipt of name and address, after the final awarding of prize.

In conclusion, it is hoped that the result of the competition will be a work of art, which will fittingly express all the aspirations, hopes and grandeur for which the S. L. P. of this country and the socialists of the world are striving.

Address designs and all requests for information to the chairman.

Yours fraternally,
LOUIS BAUER,
SIMON BERLIN,
GUSTAV ROSENBLATH,
ALFRED E. KILM,
JUSTUS EBERT, Chairman.

396 Butler st., Brooklyn, N. Y.,
"Committee on Charter and Awards."

The Committee on Charter and Awards hereby acknowledges the receipt of drawing for charter design by "The Golden West."

JUSTUS EBERT, Chairman.

The Committee on Charter and Awards, at its last meeting decided to postpone the day for closing the prize competition from April 2 to May 2, 1897. All designs must be in the hands of the committee before that date.

In answer to inquiries from Canada, it was decided that the competition is restricted to members of the party in the United States.

A. C. KILM, Secy. pro tem.

Connecticut.

NEW HAVEN, March 10.—Having a desire to advance the principles for which they have organized, and recognizing in the press the best means of enlightening the people, the recently formed Young Men's Socialist Club has made preparations for a celebration by which they expect to realize a fine sum of money, the greater part of the proceeds to go toward the Daily People Fund. The affair is to be held April 20th, and in addition to a fine musical and literary entertainment the two-act melodrama "The Crimson Banner" will be rendered.

The members are all working very hard to make a success of their first but not last effort to advance their ideas, and it is to be hoped that the Comrades

of New Haven will give their hearty cooperation and so encourage the young men in any work they may do to help the cause along.

Illinois.

FINANCIAL REPORT OF THE ILLINOIS STATE COMMITTEE FOR JANUARY AND FEBRUARY 1897.

RECEIPTS.

Jan. 5. Dietzgen Club, Chicago,	10 stamps	\$1.00
Jan. 5. Polish No. 3, Chicago,	12 stamps	1.20
Feb. 9. Danish No. 3, Chicago,	30 stamps	3.00
Feb. 9. Danish No. 1, Chicago,	20 stamps	2.00
Feb. 9. Dietzgen Club, Chicago,	60 stamps	6.00
Feb. 9. 13th Ward Club, Chicago,	20 stamps	2.00
Feb. 9. Belleville, Ill., 1,00 leaflets and 20 stamps		3.35
Feb. 16. 5th Ward Club, Chicago,	36 stamps	3.60
Feb. 16. Danish No. 1, Chicago,	30 stamps	3.00
Feb. 16. Danish No. 3, Chicago,	30 stamps	3.00
Feb. 16. Carl Marx Club No. 2,	50 stamps	5.00
Cash, Dec. 24th, 1896		\$33.15
		4.62
		\$37.77

EXPENSES.

Jan. 5. Post stamps	\$1.00
Feb. 9. 400 due stamps	20.00
Feb. 9th. Post stamps	.50
Feb. 16. 1 almanac	.25
Feb. 16. Stationery	.25
Feb. 16. Post stamps	1.00
	\$23.00
On hand, Feb. 17th, 1897	14.77
	\$37.77

STAMP ACCOUNT

Stamps received	400
Stamps from Dec. 24th, 1896	300
	700
Stamps sold	318
Stamps sold on credit to Polish No. 3, Chicago	20
	338
Stamps on hand, Feb. 17th, 1897	338

L. KANSELBAUM,

Secretary, Chicago, Ill.

Michigan.

DETROIT, March 10.—Comrades of THE PEOPLE: The Michigan State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party adopted the national platform, recommended that a speaker be sent through the State as early as possible to carry on the propaganda and organize the whole State, that a ratification meeting be arranged by the State Committee before election, and that vacancies, if any should occur, be filled by the State Committee.

The candidates nominated are:—For Justice of the Supreme Court, Lester H. Chappel; for Regents of the University, Dr. Albert Gran and Joel Dugrey.

Proof ballots having been sent to the Secretary of State and the Judge of Probate and County Clerk of each county, sealed and delivered in accordance to the requirements of the law, we ask all Comrades in any part of Michigan to go to the Judge of Probate of their respective counties and see whether or not he complies with the law and prints our ballot on the State or County official ballot.

Many judges of probate from different counties have acknowledged the receipt of the proof ballot, vignette, etc., but many others, and especially the ones from the larger cities, have not responded as yet. To attend to this is very important and necessary.

A local caucus will be held on Saturday, March 20th, in the city election houses. All Comrades should vote at this caucus, if they vote at any other, their vote can not be taken.

The ratification meeting will be held on Sunday, March 28th.

M. MEYER, Sec'y State Committee.

Missouri.

ST. LOUIS, March 12.—We have the necessary 1,000 signatures to place our ticket on the official ballot. On March 3rd we held our convention; on the 11th we had a meeting for the purpose of acknowledging the signatures on the nominating petitions. At 8 P. M. the ladies began to pour in from their respective balliwick. Everybody was silent and anxious about the result while the names were being counted. There was too much earnestness for even a joke. The room looked like a scene in Court when every face bears a somber mien expecting the announcement of the verdict. When the last paper was reached and the Organizer Comrade Fry announced 1,087 signatures a transformation took place. Applause followed and our people broke out laughing at the prophecy of one of the capitalist papers that we could not get the needed 1,000 signatures, and at the hope of the fakirs that we would not. Well, we did. And so it goes.

The Central Committee organized last night with delegates from the 5th, 7th and 23rd Ward Clubs; Jacob Dörner, 10th Ward Club; Joseph Scheidler, 8th and 18th Ward Clubs; Richard Avis and J. T. Nichols, 6th Ward Club; Julius Knobel, 17th and 19th Ward Clubs; Peter Verdes and Henry Gerhold, 27th Ward Clubs. The Central Committee placed the following tickets to be voted on by a general vote of the Comrades:

For Organizer, Lewis C. Fry.
For Members of the State Committee, 7 to be elected: Ed. Heitz, Julius Knobel, Jos. Scheidler, Sal. Kaucher, Lewis C. Fry, Peter Schwiete, Chas. Nelson, David Kennedy, Henry Knobel and Emil Lochman.

Agitation will henceforth be carried on in real earnest and on purely class-conscious lines. The Comrades have all buckled on their war gear.

Nebraska.

LITCHFIELD, Neb., March 5.—Section S. L. P. of Sauvilleville, Neb., have held the following propaganda meetings during the past two weeks: Manifest, Feb. 19; Ravenna, Feb. 20; Dannebrog, Feb. 23; Loup City, Feb. 24; Dannebrog, Feb. 25 and 26; Johnson's Farm, between Boelus and Dannebrog, Feb. 27; Litchfield, March 1; Haller Schoolhouse, March 3; Round Grove Schoolhouse, March 4; Comrades A. C. Swannhelm and Theo. Bernine, of Omaha, were the special speakers.

They spoke upon the following subjects: "The Economic Conditions of the

